

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. II.—No. 23.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1861.

WHOLE NUMBER 75.

The Principia

Published Weekly, at 339 Pearl Street, (two doors above
Harpers' Buildings) New-York.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Editor.

SAMUEL WILDE, Proprietor.

Terms: One Dollar a year, in advance.

Direct business letters, with remittances, to

MELANCTHON B. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent,
as above.

PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, domestic, business arrangements, and aims of life—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the Scripture against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." II Tim. iii. 16.17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the Bible.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT.

[In Continuation.]

"And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task masters; for I know their sorrows, and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians."—[Ex. iii. 7-8.]

"Now therefore, behold the cry of the children of Israel, is come unto me, and I have also seen the OPPRESSION wherewith the Egyptians OPPRESS them."—[Ib. 9.]

"Then the Lord said unto Moses: Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go that they may serve me."—[Ib. ix. 1.]

God regarded the heavy labors exacted by the task masters, as OPPRESSION, notwithstanding their supply of "bread to the full." He did not regard their sustenance as equitable "wages" for their involuntary labor. It was, in His sight, OPPRESSION, though they were not reduced to the deeper degradation and disabilities of chattelhood. He saw it was the Egyptians that oppressed them, the men who held them in that condition. He did not expend all His maledictions upon the mere system, excusing the contrivers and administrators of it, as do those who condemn "the system" of American slavery, but whitewash the slaveholders who make and administer and support the system.

His remedy for oppression was the immediate and unconditional abandonment of it; a full and complete emancipation of the oppressed, without waiting for them to be "prepared" for the change. "Let my people go;" now, not at some future period. Let the oppressed go free, even the people in the land of Goshen, where they are now held in bondage, under existing decrees. There was no proposal to substitute for this, a stipulation that the oppression should not be extended into other portions of Egypt, by carrying some of the oppressed thither. Nothing was said of limiting or localizing the evil. It was to be eradicated at once, and forever. The command was explicit, imperative, admitting of no modification, and allowing of no compromise. The message to Pharaoh was, in these respects, exactly similar to all the Divine messages to oppressors, and concerning oppression, as recorded throughout the Bible, without a solitary exception. This is God's voice to all oppressors, and concerning all oppressions, on the face of the whole earth,

throughout all nations and ages. "Let my people go, that they may serve me"—with their bodies and spirits which are mine—both by Creation and Redemption. This, and nothing short of it, is God's claim on America, as it once was on Egypt. "I am the Lord, I change not."

EXCUSES OF THE EGYPTIANS.

We may imagine what kind of excuses the Egyptians and their monarch may have framed, for refusing to comply with the demands of God, by Moses and Aaron. They may have said: "What right has this foreign emissary, this son-in-law of the priest of Midian, to come among us, and interfere with our peculiar institutions? Are there not abuses and grievances enough in his own country, that had better engross his attention? Or if, as some suspect, he is himself a fugitive from Hebrew service and labor, why should he not be seized and set at work, with his brethren, of his own caste? What rights can he and his race have, that the Egyptians are bound to respect? As he has been living for at least forty years at a distance from Egypt, what can he know of the condition of the Hebrews, and of the interests and policy of our Government? Do we not best understand our own concerns? The ancestors of these Hebrews came from the land of Canaan, and the curse of Noah upon Canaan, for aught we know, may still be resting upon them. Certain it is, that the race have never yet been able to take care of themselves. Four hundred years ago, they were literally starving, in their own country, and were mercifully permitted to come here and settle, to 'save their lives by a great deliverance.'* From a few scores of persons they have increased to as many millions. Our literature and our arts of civilization have been opened to them. Probably the first wagons † they ever saw, were those sent up to convey them hither. And some of them have been learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."‡ When were such substantial benefits ever conferred upon such a people before? They came, not by compulsion, but of their own accord, and for their own good. And is it a great thing that they should contribute by their labor to the internal improvements of their adopted country? In what better way could they be taxed, than in the way that enables them to pay it by the labor of their hands, without money, when they might otherwise starve, like their fathers, for want of employers? Are not their flesh pots well supplied with flesh meat and vegetables of every description? Have they not fish of which they eat freely, and cucumbers, and melons, and leeks, and onions, and garlic, and bread to the full?|| Have any of them complained of a lack of nutritious food? Are they not "fat and sleek"?§ Do we not present the best conditioned, the most contented and happy peasantry in the world? Have not these meddlesome agitators only made their condition worse, by making it necessary for us to draw the cords tighter? Have not the laborers themselves discovered this, and upbraided Moses and Aaron as the cause of all their troubles?—[Ex. v. 19-21.] Should they be enticed away into the wilderness, who can doubt that they would soon find themselves in a starving condition, and wish themselves back among their "flesh-pots" again?—[Ex. xvi. 3.] What better answer could be returned to their petitions than?—"Ye are idle—ye are idle. Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labor therein, and not regard vain words."|| So long have they been indulged in doing nothing but to tend their flocks and herds, and lounge with them in the shade, that they think it too laborious to make brick and build cities. Fresh evidence that the idler and inferior race

must be set at work by the superior, the more enterprising. Is it not the 'manifest destiny' of the Egyptians, descendants of the "god-like Ethiopians"† to subdue and hold in subjection the inferior races, whose skins are not colored like their own? Who, except fanatics, ever heard that the enforcement of involuntary labor without wages, and for the public good, is *malum in se*? And are not our laborers well fed, well used, and held in a condition immeasurably above that of chattelhood? If, like some fabled nations of barbarians, we held men as property, forbade marriage, broke up the family relation, severing wives and husbands, parents and children, by selling them as beasts, and forbidding their education, there might be some ground of complaint. But with the enlightened and civilised Egyptians, these enormities are unknown, and are heard of with incredulity. Some compulsory labor there must indeed be, otherwise the world's work could not be done. Do not parents compel their children to labor? And is not Pharaoh the father of his subjects? Is not his authority, as being a civil ruler, heaven-ordained? What less than treason, rebellion, and impiety, can it be to refuse obedience to his mandates, at least until they are repealed? And has he not said 'I know not the Jehovah of the Hebrews, neither will I let Israel go'?‡ Is not the question thus "settled by the highest judicial authority in the land"? And who are Moses and Aaron that they should promulgate a higher law? Why may not the monarch of Egypt have his hundreds or thousands of servants under his control, as well as other princes and patriarchs? Is not the institution a patriarchal one? And did not the far-famed patriarch Abraham have his three hundred and eighteen trained servants born in his own house? If these Hebrews are, as is reported, descendants of Abraham, venerated his character, why should they complain of an institution to which he was indebted for his greatness? If they are his descendants by the bond woman, are they not still in their normal condition? If, by the free woman, may they not have forfeited their lordly caste by their disuse of the institution they should have cherished, or else by their perversity and abuse of it? In every view, is it not evident that the holding of men in forced servitude, is not *malum in se*? And are we not lawfully using it, guarding well against its abuses? And finally, whatever may be the abstract right of the case, we take the institution as we received it from our fathers. Four 'hundred years' of possession, of legislation and of unbroken usage, have sanctioned and sanctified the servitude of the Hebrews. And that is right which the law makes to be right. We know there is a 'visionary dogma' that denies this.¶ But we are 'practical men.' And no one enjoying a reputation for statesmanship, will sacrifice the obvious interests of a great nation, merely in deference to idle theories and abstractions. "The greatest good of the greatest number" requires that the Hebrews should be servants to the Egyptians.

Such, in the light of modern excuses of a similar character, may be imagined to have been the excuses of the Egyptians. If, to us, they appear impudent and frivolous, what shall we say of those that, in our land, are heard daily? What intelligent and candid person, on looking over, carefully, the whole matter, can deny that such supposed excuses, in the mouths of the Egyptians, would have been quite as pertinent and as plausible as those now on the lips of Americans? Nay, how can we fail to perceive that many of them would have been much more so, especially when it is remembered that the Egyptian bondage fell so far short of American slavery, in its abominations and its horrors?

* Gen. XLV. 7.

† Ib. XLV. 27.

‡ Acts VII 22.

|| Numb. XI, 5, and Ex. XVI 3.

§ Henry Clay.

|| Ex. V. 8-17.

¶ Vide Herodotus.

† Ex. V. 2.

|| Vide speech of Henry Clay in the Senate, 1839.

SPEECH OF REV. DR. GUTHRIE.
AT A MEETING OF SYMPATHY WITH DR. CHEEVER AT EDINBURGH.

Rev. Dr. Guthrie, who was received with loud cheers, moved the first resolution as follows:—"That this meeting holds slavery and slaveholding to be in violation of the second great commandment of the law of God, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and of the golden rule, which commands to do to others as we would that others should do to us, as well as of God's express command 'to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free,' and therefore can only be regarded as a sin against God, who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth." Such [continued the reverend Doctor] is the resolution I have been requested to move; and I shall not insult this audience by endeavoring to prove what they all believe already. This would be a waste of our time. If I were on the other side of the Atlantic, I would set myself, with all possible power, and with all possible research, to prove these propositions, one after another; but in this country, where we have a Sovereign, but no slave,—where no slave can be, for so soon, as the black man's foot touches the yellow sand of Britain's shores, he becomes a free man—[applause]—to occupy the time of such a meeting as this in proceeding logically to prove propositions which you believed before you came here, and would believe no more firmly though I were to speak an hour on the subject, appears to me would be a perfect waste of time. Is there a man or mother's son among you—[laughter]—who will say that to put a man upon an auction-block,—or a woman, or a child,—and to set him up for sale; to separate that man from his wife, tear him from his children, condemn him to labor under the lash in the cotton field or the rice swamp, to work for the wages of a brute beast, which are food and nothing more; to say that that man has no home—[he can have no home, for he may be sold to-morrow, and his own wife or child he cannot claim as his own, for as soon as his poor infant's cry of life is heard in the natal chamber, it was not the father's property but the master's]—is there any man in this land will say for a single moment that such a state of things as that is carrying out the blessed command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." [Loud cheers.] Then look at the next proposition, the golden rule, which commands us to do unto others as we would wish to be done by. Well, a gentleman was questioning me the other day as to my doctrines about slavery, when, to bring the whole matter to an issue, I asked him how he would like if it were to be done to his wife and children as with the slaves of America? He would look greatly astonished if, on opening the *North British Advertiser* next Saturday, he saw an advertisement announcing Mrs. —— and so many children for sale—[laughter]—if they might be separated, and his wife put up at a thousand dollars, and his youngest child weighed in a pair of balances, and sold at so much per pound. [Hear, hear.] Is that doing unto others as we would have others to do unto us? The thing wo'n't stand a hearing, and it would be an insult, out of America, to talk about such a thing at all to the understandings of people who read their Bibles and think for themselves. [Applause.] Well, the third proposition in the resolution was God's command "to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free," and slavery cannot stand one hour with that. They had a fast lately, in America. President Buchanan had called upon the people to fast, and they have held the fast. What has it been for? It had certainly not been "a fast to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"—[hear hear]—but a fast to keep up a system in America which rivets the yoke upon the neck of every slave. [Hear, and applause.] I honour the Covenanters in this country. I honour the name of Covenanter, to whom, two hundred years ago, we owe all our liberty, civil and religious. I honour that body sometimes called Covenanters, and sometimes Cameronians, of whom we have a distinguished ornament in this city [Dr. Goold]; but I still more honour the Covenanters in America. I find by the paper which I hold in my hand, and which I received to-day, that, as they are very much given to protesting in this country, they have carried their system across the Atlantic, and that they have protested against President Buchanan, his fast, his Message, and everything connected with it. (Cheers.) "Whereas," say the protesters, "President Buchanan, in his recent Message, advises to amend the Constitution, so that it may recognise the right of property in slaves in those States where it now exists, or may hereafter exist, and so as to more effectually pledge and secure the surrender of fugitive slaves, as well as to make all personal-liberty laws of the Northern States null and void,—Resolved that national sins,—the causes of national judgments,—are the proper causes of fasting; and all hope that this nation can escape the judgment of God is vain so long as it does not repent of national sins." (Applause.) Resolved that the great sins for which God has a controversy with the nation are, disregard of his Divine authority, disregard of his Son and of his law, the organization of a Union and Federal Government into which slaveholding States were admitted, and in which slaveholders are eligible to office." [Applause.] They go on to speak of it as a wicked, cruel legislation in support of slavery and against freedom, and especially of the enactment of fugitive slave codes. They close the whole with this noble protest, that "they are the true and

most consistent friends of the country who refuse to sustain this guilty Government, and who testify against its atheism and oppression; and we do most earnestly beseech our fellowcountrymen, and especially as fearers of God and haters of despotism, to come out from the blood-stained Union and help us to reform the people and the Government, and thus save their own souls from guilt and the nation from the desolating judgments of God." [Applause.] And, last of all, is this resolution:—"Resolved that the fast which God has chosen is 'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke,' therefore for such a fast we will labour and pray." [Loud cheers.] To all that I subscribe. I have come to this meeting with considerable inconvenience, and under circumstances under which I would not have come to any ordinary meeting; but I felt that I must break through all trammels, and set other things to the wind; and for the last time that I may have an opportunity while Dr. Cheever is in this city of bidding that noble man God speed, and of telling him, as I now tell him, that with God's Word, and the consciences of men at his back, let him fight on, and at length he will win the victory. Let him put his back to the throne of God, and say,—

"Come one, come all, this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

[Cheers.] He must conquer. [Cheers.] The seed which he has sown may indeed wave above his grave, but the seed shall grow; and sooner or later he, who had been reviled and calumniated, and spoken of in terms as disrespectful as they are unjust, will have his name enrolled in the list of the noblest advocates of freedom which America has ever produced. [Loud cheers.] I agree with you, Sir, that it is all very well, however, that we should express our sympathy with Dr. Cheever; but sympathy without substantial aid is of very little use. The Quaker way of it is the right way. "I sympathize £500; how much do you sympathize?" [Applause.] What is to come out of that dark cloud which now hangs over America? Whether it is to dissolve in a shower of blood, or to dissolve in a shower of blessing, God only knows. I pray God it may be the latter. I am no man of blood. War, contention, and the wrath of man, worketh not the righteousness of God; but on the other hand, I have all along had so bad an opinion of human nature, when acted on by personal, and pecuniary, and selfish motives, that I stand and have always stood, in fear that this enormous crime of slavery in America would not be ended without suffering, and that of a terrible kind. [Hear.] I have read history; and my reading of history leads me to this conclusion, that the wronged—whether it be in Italy, or in Austria, or in Scotland in days of old, or in America perhaps now—never got their rights until they took the wrong-doer by the throat. [Cheers.] I have read history, but I have never heard of the slaveholder of his own good will emancipating his slaves. I never heard of a Despot of his own good will laying down his sceptre; I never heard of giving people their rights; and I stand much in fear that in America this wrong and bloody crime of slavery may end in a terrible tragedy. I hope it may not be so. I pray God, with all my heart, that that country may never see the fearful spectacle of a brother plunging his sword in a brother's bosom, and all for such a base thing as slavery. [Applause.] But my fear is increased by one melancholy circumstance; and hence the importance of Christians letting their voice be heard in tones that will drown the war of the Atlantic, and be heard across that wide ocean. It lies in this—that the Conservative element in America is wanting. Their Churches, Sir, are rotten to the core. [Cheers.] And if any man speaks of me as a calumniator of America, I will give him my American authority—the authority of the man who stands first and foremost of all living theologians in the Presbyterian Church, at least of that country—the authority of a man who is editor of the *Princeton Review*—Dr. Hodge—whom many of you may have heard of, and whom we are all accustomed to hold in the highest esteem. I hold a pamphlet of Dr. Hodge's in my hand, which I got on Saturday, and which is a reprint of an article in the *Princeton Review* on the state of the country. It has been sent to me from America, as being written by Dr. Hodge himself. What says Dr. Hodge of the state of the Churches in America? He is no witness on the other side; for I am sorry to say that this is no anti-slavery pamphlet—I am sorry to say that this is no pamphlet which Dr. Hodge puts forth in defence of the rights of humanity. This pamphlet is a pleading with the Southerners to save the Union at all hazards; and the most melancholy thing which, as a Christian minister, I have seen for days, and months, and years, is to see such a man as Dr. Hodge in that pamphlet, lie down in the dust before you Southern planter with his whip in his hand, beseeching him "not to secede"—"not to secede"—because it will dissolve the Union; and using as the great argument with him, "If you secede, you may lose the value of your slaves; for it will abolish slavery." Of all the melancholy spectacles I have ever seen exhibited by men I would wish to have respected, that pamphlet is the most melancholy. [Hear, hear.] If anything was needed to prove to me that the Churches in America have more need to be prayed for than the planters themselves, it would be such an argument from such a man. I said that the Churches are rotten to the core, and I will give you Dr. Hodge's evidence upon that subject. He says, then, to

the parties who are opposed to the views of the Abolitionists—"It is quite a mistake to suppose that the people of the North are Abolitionists, that is all a mistake. You are acting under a wrong impression." He goes on to say—"The great mistake, however, of our Southern brethren is that they charge these offences on the people of the North. What is the offence? The offence is, that slavery or slaveholding is against the law of God. Dr. Hodge may fill the world with pamphlets; but he may as well try to prove that the sun is not in the heavens at twelve o'clock at noon, as to prove that slavery is not a moral mischief and evil. We all live in the belief that slavery is a sin against God, and we intend to die so. He repudiates the idea that the North hold these views. How does he prove it? "Whereas," says he, "the truth is, that there is not one in a hundred of the people of the North who entertain these views. I appeal, in support of this statement, to a very accessible index of public opinion, to the hundreds of religious newspapers published in the North, the number of which is small that breathe the spirit of Abolitionism." I can certify for that, for I read the *Presbyterian* of Philadelphia myself, for ten years, and read their paragraph after paragraph denouncing such parties as Dr. Cheever, and came at length to see paragraphs denouncing myself [of which I am none the worse]; but I never yet saw a paragraph denouncing slavery. And it is a religious newspaper, and not only that, but a Presbyterians newspaper; the best I ever read; but I would never know from that religious newspaper that slavery existed, except when they denounce men who denounce slavery. "The proportion of the secular press, controlled by the same spirit, is not greater; and I don't know one clergyman among the Roman Catholics, he might have begun with greater authority—[laughter], "or the Episcopalian, or the Dutch Reformed Church, belonging to the class of Abolitionists." Not one Roman Catholic, not one Episcopalian, not one Dutch Reformed clergyman belonging to the class of Abolitionists? I must come on to my own friends; and I am sorry to say that they are no better. "Of the 3000 Old School Presbyterian clergymen in the country,"—these are the very sound Presbyterian clergymen,—the Old School,—they are very Old School, and they have much need to get a little light,—"I believe there are twelve who deserve to be so designated. As to the Northern Baptists, I have no knowledge of the prevalence of Abolitionism in their ranks. Among the Methodists there is perhaps more of that spirit, but counteracted by a strong Conservative element." Conservative element! Well, if that is not enough to put Conservatism out of fashion, I don't know what is. I have not been maligning the Americans. I take one of their own men who is pleading against the Union being touched,—that Dagon, for it is nothing else,—to which everything is to be sacrificed to prevent it being brought into danger. That is the testimony of Dr. Hodge, who actually humbles himself in the dust before the Southern planter with the lash in his hand. He pleads with him to preserve the Union; and in order to do so, he pleads the basest of arguments,—he pleads the conservation of which I call a hideous sin against both God and man. [Applause.] I bring no charge which I cannot substantiate. In arguing with these men, he says:—"This bright vision, however, of the prosperity which is to follow disunion is a work of the imagination. . . . The carrying out of this Southern programme would place the cotton States in direct hostility with the other slave States. It would be their ruin, at least four years to come. The value of their property in slaves must be depreciated many per cent." He then goes on to speak of Great Britain and France; and, to their honor be it spoken, he can expect no sympathy in this matter from them. And this is what he says of them,—"The anticipations that France and England, having abolished slavery in their own dominions, would unite to uphold it in the cotton-growing States of the North, are all on the assumption that Satan governs the world. The natural anticipation is, that as these nations have submitted to the enormous sacrifice of emancipating their own slaves, they would use all their influence to abolish slavery elsewhere. It has long been the conviction of our most enlightened men, that it is nothing but the protection which the flag of the Union spreads over slavery in this country,"—the flag of the stars and stripes,—well, it may have the stars, but it certainly has stripes,—the flag with its motto, "All men are born free and equal,"—[cheers and laughter]—that's a parenthesis of my own, mind—[renewed laughter]—"that prevents England araying all her power for its destruction." Thanks to him for the compliment to England, and the Americans may thank him for the compliment to their own country. "Separated from the North," he says to these Southern men, with the whip and the lash, and the chains; with the fettters and the iron bonds; with the auction-block and the bloody hands,—this most reverend Dr. Hodge, paying his profoundest respects to these most honorable Christian men, goes on to say,—"Separated from the North, a Southern confederacy of the cotton-growing States would be at the mercy of the anti-slavery feelings of the world." [Hear.] Not a bad thing for the slaves! [Laughter.] "The dissolution of the Union, therefore, in all human probability, would be the death-blow to slavery." If that be so, then I say, let the Union be dissolved to-morrow. [Loud cheers.] An old heathen once said, "Let justice be done, though the heavens should be dissolved;" but this wretched man says, "Don't let justice be done, lest the Union should be dissolved." [Hear.] Verily the heathen might say, "Shame on such sentiments!" But just hear the close. He says, "We have no heart to dwell on this point;" and then he goes on to tell us—"By the time the Southern confederacy number four millions of white inhabitants, the North would have forty millions." That is just what I have been

the Abolitionists—
the people of
ake. You are
on to say.—
n brethren in
of the North,
ver or slave
e may fill the
I try to prove
clock at noon,
chief and evil.
against God,
idea that the
it? "Where-
in a hundred
ose views, I
ry accessible
ligious news-
of which is
, I can cer-
Philadelphia
h after par-
er, and came
f [of which I
aragraph de-
newspaper, and
; the best I
that religious
ey denounce
of the secu-
greater; and
and Catholic,"
[laughter]
d Churches,
one Roman
h Reformed
ts? I must
to say that
Presbyterian
very sound
ey are very
a little light,
be so desig-
knowledge
ks. Among
t spirit, but
." Conserv-
o put Con-
I have not
f their own
touched,—
everything is
into danger.
ly humbles
r with the
reserve the
est of argu-
call a hide-
In arguing
however, of
of the im-
programmes
the other
ur years to
be depri-
k of Great
ken, he can
And this is
France and
dominions,
ates of the
world. We
ve submit-
own slaves,
elsewhere
ened men,
the Union
e stars and
tainly has
n free and
asis of my
ngland ar-
o him for
ay thank
Separated
, with the
s and the
hands,—
st respect
y,—"Sep-
the cottag-
every feel-
the slaves!
ore, in all
ery." If
morrow.
justice be
but this
the Union
on might
the close
t;" and
confede-
the North
have been

anticipating and looking forward to—the abolition of slavery first, by the natural growth of freedom, and the death of slavery in one shape or another. [Applause.] Dr. Hodge takes a different view. He says, "What can be the consequence of such disproportion between conterminous political communities when there is nothing to restrain injury and annoyace? This is a dismal prospect, from which we gladly turn our eyes. Why, it is the sun rising upon four millions of slaves; but "it is a dismal prospect," says Dr. Hodge. "There is much more in this pamphlet that is most extraordinary and most painful, and, among other things, there is a defence of the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law. "We heartily join," he says, "in the condemnation"—of what? Of the Fugitive Slave Law? Not at all! "We heartily join in the condemnation of all resistance to the restoration of fugitive slaves." I suppose Dr. Hodge, poor man, would turn out and assist to capture a fugitive slave. I would rather turn out and put my foot before the policeman that was running after him. [Laughter and cheers] He goes on—"All laws designed to interfere with the full and efficient operation of the constitutional compact on this subject are *immoral*." We hear a great deal about compacts just now in the Free Church—[laughter]—but this, I take it, is the most extraordinary compact I ever heard of. "All laws against the constitutional compact are *immoral*." I take him to the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, and I show him there a law which stands wide as the poles asunder from his constitutional compact. But, first, I will take him to another bar. He says the Fugitive Slave Law ought to be obeyed, and that all laws that go against it are *immoral*, not inexpedient. Well, in reasoning with the Southerners, he says in his pamphlet that the two great difficulties between the North and the South are the Fugitive Slave Law and the territories. As to the former, mark what he says, "The constitutional claim of the South is undoubted; but the difficulties in the way of carrying into effect that provision of the Constitution are almost insuperable." And he goes on to say, "These difficulties do not arise from State laws, or from the supineness of the general Government, but from the *laws of human nature*." Dr. Hodge, you have hit the nail on the head here, and when you change the laws of human nature, we will all agree to the Fugitive Slave Law. [Applause.] I take the laws of human nature to be those which God has written with his own finger on man's heart, and the Fugitive Slave Law, which, he says, it is the duty of men in America not to disturb, is not only against the laws of human nature, but we have a higher authority still against it. Dr. Hodge says that, if a slave leaves his master with his broken chain dangling at his heels, followed by bloodhounds, and by cruel tyrants, and rushes into your house, you must obey the law of the State, you are not to help that slave on to liberty, and that any law that would hinder that slave from being carried back to bondage is *immoral*. I bring Dr. Hodge to the bar of the word of God; I bring this Princeton reviewer to the judgment-seat of God; and what does it say against that Fugitive Slave Law? It says, "Thou shalt not deliver unto the master the servant who has escaped from his master unto thee." [Applause.]

The Bible stands in direct opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. The Word of God stands in direct opposition to that pamphlet—stands in direct opposition to the large body of the ministers in America—stands in direct opposition to the men of these States; and I say, "Let God's Word stand, though America perish from the number of nations and from the face of the earth" (Applause.) I am told by a Mr. Vandyke—it is not Vandyke the painter—it is a man who paints black things white—[laughter]—who has published a sermon in defense of slavery as an institution, and says there is nothing against it in God's Word, that it is a divine institution, and a thousand other perversions of Scripture. This gentleman says, "With these facts staring them in the face, cannot the South afford to wait a little longer. Can our Christian men, and our Christian ministers, who are the salt of the earth, not wait a little?" "Salt of the earth!"—that reminds me of the words of our Lord, "If the salt has lost its savour, what is it fit for? It is fit to be cast out and trodden under foot." (Applause.) "Salt of the earth!"—I stand on this platform, and—I do it with grief and sorrow—but I say, if God's cause, and man's cause, and the liberties of the world were ever betrayed by any class of men, it is by these men who call themselves "the salt of the earth." (Applause.) I am sorry that I should have been under the necessity of speaking so, but truth is above everything—truth has claims superior to every consideration. I know that when this goes out to America I shall be thoroughly abused. (Laughter.) The fact is, that does not trouble me here. This is a safe land—we are free to speak our mind here. (Applause.) Why, I would have been tarred and feathered all like an eagle—[laughter]—if I had been in America. Let nobody suppose that I speak entirely against America. (Cheers.) There is great piety, learning, and excellency in that country; and I pray to Heaven that that foul blot on an otherwise noble shield may be taken away. [Applause.] She is great in commerce, great in resources; and above all things I admire in America that she will, like the old Roman, defend her own citizens wherever they are interfered with or injured. But it is a perfect mockery in Dr. Hodge to talk in such terms as this of his country. Hear how he pleads with these slaveowners, speaking of his country as if liberty was to perish on the face of the earth if the Union were to be dissolved. It is so very rich that it is a pity it should not be read. [Laughter.] "This is the light in which this subject ought to be viewed," he says. "Is disunion morally right? Does it not involve a breach of faith, and a violation of the oaths by which that faith was confirmed? We believe, under existing circumstances, that it does, and therefore it is as dreadful a blow to the Church as it is to the State. If a crime at all, it is one the heinousness of which can only be imperfectly estimated from its probable effects; but these are sad enough. It blots our name from among the nations of the earth. The United States of North America will no longer exist. All the recollections which cluster around those words—all the bright hopes attached to them for the future—must be sunk for ever. The glorious flag which has so long floated in the advance of civilization and liberty must be buried." Liberty! with four millions of slaves at their back.

Marching in "the advance of civilization and liberty!"—[laughter]—to the crack of the whip and the rattle of the chain! [Applause.] Then Dr. Hodge goes on as follows:—"We lose our position as one of the foremost nations of the earth—the nation of the future—the great Protestant Power to stand up for civil and religious freedom." [Hear, hear.] Well, sir, they are so much pleased with themselves, these parties, that one has very little hope of putting them to shame; but I close my remarks just with saying that you are not to misunderstand me in fancying that I would glory in seeing America destroyed. On the contrary, I say here what I have often said to Americans,—"You are bone of our bones, flesh of our flesh; you have our faith,—you have our love to the old Covenanters and the old Puritans—you are our children—you are our countrymen—unfur the flag of liberty, let the oppressed go free, and there is Cape Horn, God speed you in your progress—carrying freedom, and light, and liberty from one end of that mighty continent to the other!" [Applause.] May God grant you earnest wishes!" and may He who turneth man's heart as he turneth the rivers of water, turn that people into the path of duty, and I am sure none sooner than ourselves will bid them God speed. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

The Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, April 9, brings us the following additional particulars of the heart rending scenes described by bro. C. C. Foote in last week's *Principia*. Is there the man or woman who can read it without burning with shame and indignation that such scenes are tolerated in our country? Well may we tremble when the judgments of God in our land, instead of learning the people righteousness, seem only to goad them on, to fill up the measure of their iniquities.

A REPUBLICAN MARSHAL PLAYING THE SLAVE HUNTER.—A few days ago a man by the name of Jones received the appointment of Marshal in Illinois, from Mr. Lincoln. Hardly had he become warm in his office when he came across a hand-bill offering a reward of \$400 for the arrest and return to their master of a family of five slaves, a father, mother and three children. Either the hope of winning this glittering prize, or an innate love for the brave, manly, and dignified amusement of slave hunting, aroused all the energies of this Republican office-holder into full play, and he promptly prepared to *run down* this most favorite game of your regular man-hunters.

We learn from the Chicago *Tribune*, of Saturday, which has a terrific attack upon the two-legged blood-hound, that he entered upon the chase with a zest and keenness that would have done credit to the trained four-legged hounds of the South. His first step was to bribe a negro by the name of Hayes to hunt up and betray into his hands, or those of his minions, his intended victims. This infamous tool of an equally infamous employer, succeeded in finding the residence of the "game," and insisted upon remaining at the house all night, at the request of the Marshal. Early in the morning that individual, being too cowardly to face the father of the family he was so anxious to return to bondage, and receive the price of blood, sent his deputies, graceless ruffians, to the house, and the door was at once opened by the spy Hayes, and they搜尋 in upon the victim.

is not Vandye the painter—it is a man who paints black things white—(laughter)—who has published a sermon in defense of slavery as an institution, and says there is nothing against it in God's Word, that it is a divine institution, and a thousand other perversions of Scripture. This gentleman says, "With these facts staring them in the face, cannot the South afford to wait a little longer. Can our Christian men, and our Christian ministers, who are the salt of the earth, not wait a little?" "Salt of the earth!"—that reminds me of the words of our Lord, "If the salt has lost its savour, what is it fit for? It is fit to be cast out, and trodden under foot." (Applause.) "Salt of the earth!"—I stand on this platform, and—I do it with grief and sorrow—but I say, if God's cause, and man's cause, and the liberties of the world were ever betrayed by any class of men, it is by these men who call themselves "the salt of the earth." (Applause.) I am sorry that I should have been under the necessity of speaking so, but truth is above everything—truth has claims superior to every consideration. I know that when this goes out to America I shall be thoroughly ~~abused~~^{blamed}. The ~~black~~^{white} people of America will be greatly troubled over this.

The arrest of this family, the cheerful zeal and alacrity which Jones evinced in the matter, the determination he has shown of acting the professional slave-hunter, and the presence in Chicago of several slave-owners in search of their "chattels," has produced a perfect panic amongst the colored population of that city. The consequence is that they are fleeing for refuge to Canada, by scores and hundreds. Some most painful incidents have resulted from this universal feeling of panic, and many have left their homes there, under circumstances of peculiar hardship, but the hunter of human flesh was upon them. In some cases, most narrowly was capture escaped. On Thursday, a mother and her four children were concealed under a heap of manure in that city, when the master of the mother was turning over the hay in the loft, hoping to find them there.

"Is the right in which this subject ought to be viewed," he says, "disunion morally right?" Does it not involve a breach of faith, and a violation of the oaths by which that faith was confirmed? We believe, under existing circumstances, that it does, and therefore it is as dreadful a blow to the Church as it is to the State. If a crime at all, it is one the heinousness of which can only be imperfectly estimated from its probable effects; but these are sad enough. It blots our name from among the nations of the earth. The United States of North America will no longer exist. All the recollections which cluster around those words—all the bright hopes attached to them for the future—must be sunk for ever. The glorious flag which has so long floated in the advance of civilization and liberty must be furled." Liberty! with four millions of slaves at their back,

THE EXODUS.—Yesterday morning we chronicled the passage through Detroit, of eighty negroes who had left Chicago and vicinity, by reason of the recent return from that city, of a fugitive slave to his master. A perfect panic seems to rage among them, and they are constantly leaving in great numbers, without a thought of what they will do, or how they will subsist, after the seeming danger shall have been placed behind them. Their only effort seems to be to get out of the "land of the free" at whatever sacrifice, even though destitution and starvation meet them at their journey's end.

The arrival yesterday of 190 makes the total number of blacks who have passed through Detroit within the past few days exceed 300; and they are expected to continue coming through the entire week. Fearful of being taken they will not consent to come by the most direct route, but nearly all of them go to Milwaukee, and then via the Detroit and Milwaukee road to this place, and do not fail upon their arrival, to cross the river immediately. The houses and churches in Windsor have become filled to overflowing, and it is with the utmost difficulty that sleeping room can be obtained for them. Arrangements are being made to send them into the interior as fast as possible, but if they continue to arrive as rapidly and in as great numbers as they have for the past few days, it will be next to an impossibility for them to be cared for, without assistance in money and food from the humane of this city. But few that come are able to provide for themselves, and it is necessary, therefore, that they should receive aid from some source.

* "When his duty clearly demands it?" This is more astonishing than all the rest! What was the writer thinking of? "Clearly duty" to execute an "*infamous*" mandate? To commit a disgraceful act? What ideas of "duty" can men have, who can write us? A duty to whom? Not to God or to man, assuredly. The duty, if there be any, must be due to Satan and the slaveholders.

"duty" if there be any, must be due to Satan and the slaveholders! So the Marshal was to be censured only for "volunteering" to do the deed for a "few dollars"—and for doing it in a "brutal and cowardly manner." He should have done it solely as a "duty" to whom such service is due, from mere love of the "duty" without reward!

of reward?" for what? To make place for a successor who will discharge the same "duty" as duty, gratuitously—serving Satan and slavery for nothing—kidnapping men, women, children, in a spirit of sublime, self-denying heroism, and with the utmost mercy and humanity, not "in a brutal and cowardly manner"—so that the process of slave catching may become honorable and seemly, instead of disgraceful and infamous! Could not the pious Committee of the "Society for promoting National Unity" furnish the administration with a supply of pious, humane, magnanimous kidnappers?

SLAVE SURNDERED.—The Painesville (Ohio) *Advertiser* reports that a slaveholder from Nacogdoches, Tex., who had been stamping in the city, has surrendered his slave, a mulatto woman, to the colored people of Painesville, who have given her a home and will care for her until she can get a place where she can earn her living.

that a slaveholder from Nashville, Tenn., who had been stopping in that place for some time, made known the object of his visit one day last week, by instituting proceedings for the rendition of a negro woman, whom he claimed as a fugitive slave. The necessary papers were made out and the parties left on the cars without meeting with any resistance or even awakening any display of excitement.

When it is remembered that Painesville is in Lake county, one of the Western Reserve counties, and the hot bed of Republicanism, it is abundant proof that wherever slaveholders will fully establish their claim to the "service and labor" under the law, that however repugnant to feeling it may be, Republicans are willing to submit in peace to the necessity of the case, and allow the fugitive to be removed.

If we rightly interpret the tone of these paragraphs, it is a matter of gratulation and boast with these "Republican" editors, rather than of mortification and disgust, that "the hot bed of Republicanism" is the very place where such fiendish acts can be most complacently witnessed! When Democratic officials committed the same acts, Republican editors could brand the villainy as it deserved, without representing it as submitting in peace, to the necessities of the case!

"Without meeting with any resistance, or even awaking any display of excitement!" This is a new and a dark feature of the *Republican* slave catching, and one that seems to be fulfilling the prediction of the *N. Y. Times*, (before the Presidential election) that the *Republican* party, in power, from the influence of its position and prestige would be able to do what no other party could do, to "coerce" the acquiescence of abolitionists. It was on these promises, that the *Republican* victory was in part, carried through the votes of conservatives, while abolitionists were wheedled out of *their* votes by opposite and less sincere promises. The expectation of the *Republican* leaders was to propitiate and pacify the slaveholders. Now that they have failed in this, the policy seems to be to make renewed efforts to that end, by fresh onslaughts upon the defenseless colored people.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1861.

LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the *business* matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file, by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, not to 48 Beekman street, nor to Box 1212, (the former address of Wm. Goodell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important now, as the office of our friends, there, is about to be removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

THE WAR IS UPON US.

It has come, at last. We are now involved in one of the most dreadful of all visitations, an intestine war.

It is by no foreign foe that the Nation is assailed. The enemy is in our very midst. It is not an enemy that has been made such by our aggressions upon their rights, unless it be in this one thing, that they were entitled, at our hands, to the restraints of salutary law, to prevent their aggressions upon our brethren whom they have enslaved. In this, we have indeed wronged them. We have educated them to the rebellion they are enacting, by permitting them to live in our nation, *without subjection to righteous national law*. We have recognized their sovereign right to do as they pleased, with our colored brethren, in violation of our Great National Charters, and the foundation principles of our Government. And now they are exercising that same pretended and long conceded sovereign right, by beginning to do as they please with us, and trampling, openly, our powerless National Charters, and neglected institutions, under their feet. They may logically claim to have the same right to do now, in their relations to the whole nation, the same thing that they have been doing all along, and with our sufferance, to one sixth part of the nation. It is no new principle, no new claim that they have set up, and are now acting upon; it is only the application of that old principle, (long claimed and conceded) in a somewhat different direction. If they ever had, as they have claimed, and as we have conceded, a political and Constitutional right, to lord it over *colored* non-slaveholders, then they have had the same political and Constitutional right to lord it over *white* non-slaveholders.—The permitting them to be slaveholders, was a virtual, and efficacious, though unconscious concession of that right. The permission of slaveholding is, *of itself, and of necessity*, the erection of a superior caste, a governing class, in our political system, and, of necessity, they have governed. In their present position of rebellion, they are only acting upon the necessities of their position, as the governing class; a position so long conceded to them that they regard it as belonging to them. The election of a President, without the leave of the long-established and recognized ruling caste, was, of itself, (however unintentional) an infringement of their prerogatives, as an oligarchy of slaveholders, and, in order to remain such, they felt the necessity of rebelling. To submit to the results of an election by a majority of non-slaveholders, without having been consulted, before-hand, and without having assented to the selection of the candidates, would have been a relinquishment of their long exercised and conceded prerogatives, as the governing caste.

The fact of slaveholding control is an unquestionable fact of our national history. Its philosophy, though it lies in a nut-shell, is not commonly understood. They have governed, *not* because of their numerical strength, for they have always been a minority;—nor by virtue of their three-fifths representation of the slaves, for this has still left to the non-slaveholding States a preponderating majority in the Government, nor by the wealth of the slaveholders, for they have been comparatively poor. They have governed, solely by the necessities of their position, as an oligarchy of

slaveholders. For the first time, a President has been elected without their leave, as a ruling caste, in other words, as slaveholders; and, of course, they rebel. It is no object to them, to be slaveholders, unless they can continue to enjoy the long conceded and constantly exercised prerogatives of a controlling class, an oligarchy, over the nation.

Hence the rebellion, and hence the war, in which we are now plunged.

The enemy is not confined to the slaveholders, nor to the South, because the advocates, the apologists, the sympathizers, and the servile tools of slavery, of slaveholding, and of the slaveholders, are to be found throughout the whole nation. As in our Revolutionary war, we had tories over all the country, though fewer in the North than in the South, so we now have the partisans of the slaveholding oligarchy and of their supremacy, in still greater proportionate numbers. Every pro-slavery pulpit is a fortress of pro-slavery rebellion. Pro-slavery Missionary Boards and Tract Houses are its Sevastopolis. Pro-slavery presses, religious and political, are its floating batteries. The operators of these may be comparatively quiet, as citizens, while disseminating the foundation doctrines of the rebels, so long as the forces of the Federal Government are successful. But let Forts Sumter and Pickens, the Federal Capitol, the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and New-York Custom House, fall into the hands of Jefferson Davis, and the Ecclesiastical pioneers of the rebellion will openly and eagerly show themselves, as his supporters.

Of this we have already had an early evidence and foretaste, in an utterance of one of their representative men. The letter of Chancellor Walworth, a pattern saint, of the pro-slavery faith, fully justifying the rebels, at the first outbreak of their Rebellion, and comparing them with the patriots of that American Revolution, (as though they had resorted to secession in defence of liberty instead of slavery), has been widely circulated, at the North and the South, and has greatly accelerated and strengthened the rebellion.

So has the letter of fraternity and sympathy signed by Gardner Spring, D. D., and other leading clerical gentlemen. The programme of the "National Unity Society" defending slavery, is another similar manifestation. All defenses of religious fellowship with slaveholders, on the ground of the inherent innocency of slaveholding, however intended, are operating as weights in the same scale. For if slaveholding is good enough for fellowship in the Church, it is good enough to be protected, everywhere, by the nation: the demands of the slaveholders are just, and a pro-slavery pacification, according to the programme of the "National Unity Society," and the Constitution of the Confederate States, should have superseded the defence of Fort Sumter, and the war.

An intestine war, arising in consequence of the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, in a country wherein the leading influences of the Churches and Ministry in general are in favor of slavery and against its abolition, can hardly fail to be a most terrible calamity. The Administration may ignore the true issue, in the contest—may undertake to put down pro-slavery rebellion with one hand, and catch run-away slaves with the other. But God and his Providence will not ignore the issue, nor fail to confound the Nation and the Government that does!

What shall the end of these things be?

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

"The curse, causeless, has not come." The intestine war is not without a most guilty cause. What is that cause?

Is it the agitations of the abolitionists? No. There must be a cause lying back of abolitionism. There could have been no abolitionism, had there been no slavery requiring to be abolished. And abolitionism, especially in the hands of a few despised, hated, and vilified abolitionists, could not have influenced the politics of the nation, so as to have produced intestine war, unless the nation had itself been conscious that there was something in slavery and its operations, that laid a foundation and necessity for political action, of some sort, against it.

If abolitionism is, in any sense, to be reckoned among the causes of the war, it is not the guilty cause, unless slavery is in itself right, and if it ought not to be abolished.

The intelligent and consistent opposers of abolitionists, who charge them with the guilt of having produced the

agitations of the country, which have now resulted in war, have been driven to the necessity of defending slavery as a divine and providential institution, approved by the word of God. This is the position of the *National Unity Society*, the latest organized machinery for fastening upon the abolitionists the crime of plunging the country in confusion, dissension and war. But it is a position against which the conscience and common sense of mankind, in common with the spirit of true piety, revolts. The people do not and cannot believe any such thing.

Abolitionism therefore, [the condemnation of slavery and slaveholding as sinful, and the corresponding demand, in the name of God and humanity, that it be immediately and unconditionally abolished,] cannot be the guilty cause, or the *real, primary* cause of the agitations that have resulted in war. As well might it be charged upon Christianity, that it is the guilty cause of the domestic and intestine wars that have been occasioned by it, and that Christ himself foresaw and foretold, so that a man's foes should be those of his own household. The enemies of Christianity have often resorted to this charge, but it has always been seen to be unreasonable and unjust. The charge against abolitionism is but a part of the same sophistry, employed for similar ends, to turn the edge of divine reproofs against wickedness.

Slavery then, and not abolitionism, or anti-slavery, in any of its degrees, phases, or manifestations, is the guilty cause of the war. The common sense of the common people, in harmony with the political science of the wisest statesmen, is rapidly coming to see and to understand this. Slavery and nothing else, has disturbed our national unity and peace.

Remove slavery, and you will have removed abolitionism, and henceforward, you will have no agitations, dissensions or wars, from that cause.

Remove slavery, and you will have removed the only real ground of political dissension in the nation, sufficient to produce insurrection, rebellion, or intestine war.

It is said that we were once on the verge of intestine war, on account of the Tariff. But the difficulty was settled without a resort to arms, or to secession. And, if the whole truth were told, it would be seen that slavery was at the bottom of that controversy, concerning the Tariff. Who was the father of the protection tariff system? John C. Calhoun, who proposed, and vehemently insisted on the first distinctively protective tariff, that of 1816. What was his object? To undermine Northern commerce, by which the North was becoming rich, while he complained that the South was growing poor. By a protective Tariff, he broke up some of the most lucrative branches of Northern commerce, and compelled the merchants to turn manufacturers of Southern grown cotton, for the benefit of slavery. The same John C. Calhoun, demanded, in 1833, the repeal of the protective Tariff. For what reason? Because he found that the North was still growing rich, while the South was growing poor. Slave labor could not compete with free labor. And so Northern industry must again be deranged to check its disproportionate prosperity. This was the real cause of the difficulty about the Tariff.

Slavery is the guilty cause of the war. Its national tolerance is the great national sin, for which God is now visiting the nation with His judgments. God overthrew Pharaoh and the Egyptians for the sin of oppression. He removed, first the Ten Tribes of Israel, and then Judah and Benjamin, into captivity in Babylon, for the sin of oppression. This he threatened by his inspired prophets, before hand, and the inspired historians have recorded the fulfillment of those prophecies. All the ancient nations were threatened with overthrow by the inspired prophets, for the same sin of oppression. And the history of these nations proves the fulfillment of those predictions.

The known laws of moral and political cause and effect, established by the Creator, teach us the same lesson.

This nation is an oppressive nation. And from this oppression, and as a just punishment for it, the nation is now involved in war. To deny this, is to deny that there is any such thing as political science. It is to deny that any instruction is to be derived from history. It is to deny the connection between moral cause and effect. It is to deny an overruling Providence, the moral accountability of Governments and nations, and the Divine Inspiration of the Bible. Men must become stark atheists or lunatics before

they can help knowing, (however they may wilfully deny it,) that SLAVERY IS THE GUILTY CAUSE OF THE WAR.

NOW THE WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN PREVENTED.

The war might have been prevented by the abolition of slavery.—Slavery might have been abolished, by the simple process of voting for its abolition. The people would have voted for its abolition if they had understood and followed the teachings of the Bible, and if they had understood the Constitution of the United States, and had perceived how the Constitution forbids slavery in the States, and authorizes and requires a national abolition of slavery by the guarantee to every State in this Union of a Republican form of Government, the establishment of justice and the securing of the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States, by the Habeas Corpus and due process of law.

Had the people but read their Bibles and their Constitution for themselves, they would not have been deceived by their false prophets and designing politicians. They would have known their duty to choose wise and good rulers, men fearing God, and hating covetousness, who would execute judgment between a man and his neighbor, deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof. All this they would have known and would have accomplished, had they but loved their neighbors as themselves.

The war might have been prevented, if the professed ministers of the gospel had faithfully declared the whole counsel of God, concerning oppression, and the duties of the people, the nation and its rulers to put an end to it, and if the members of Churches had sought such teachers, and had sustained them and heeded their teachings.

It may be said—it has been said, that such a course would have produced war. But the experiment has now proved that the neglect of these duties has produced war. If war had been made upon us, for having discharged our duty, (not for having neglected it,) we should have had conscience and God on our side. But the strong probability, nay, the moral certainty, is, that if we had discharged our duty, we should have so secured the divine favor and the consciences of the people, North and South, as to have procured the abolition of slavery, by the use of moral, ecclesiastical, political, and judicial action, without secession or blood-shed. Albert Barnes said that slavery could not be maintained, out of the Church, for a day, were it not maintained in the Church. And certainly, it could not have been maintained in the slave States, if it had not been maintained in the non-slaveholding States. And then, there would have been no secession, and no war.

HOW AN HONORABLE AND PERMANENT PEACE, RECONSTRUCTION AND UNITY MIGHT BE SPEEDILY, AND CHEAPLY RESTORED.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. . . . For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings, if ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt; then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever."—Jer. vii, 1, 7.

"Hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth. Let my outcasts dwell with thee. Be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."—Isa. xvi, 3, 4.

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant that hath escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with you, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."—Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.

"Loose the bands of wickedness, . . . undo the heavy burdens . . . let the oppressed go free . . . break every yoke. . . . Then shall thy light break forth in the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward. . . . And there shall be of thee that shall build up the old waste places, thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."—Isa. lviii, 6-12.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."—Lev. xxv. 10.

"Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. Seek judgment; relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. . . . Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red, like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."—Isa. i. 16-20.

President Lincoln! Believest thou the Prophets? I know that thou believest, and hast asked the prayers of God's people for His guidance and protection. Be entertained then, to read carefully, the first chapter of Isaiah, from whence this last of the above extracts is taken, especially the 11th to the 20th verses, inclusive; also the 58th chapter of the same book, and notice how strongly it is affirmed that *prayers without liberating the oppressed*, are an abomination in God's sight. Do not plead that you have not the Constitutional power. Study "Our National Charters" and you will find, (as thousands are now finding) that you have. Remember too, how John Quincy Adams, on the floor of Congress, asserted, without contradiction, the war power of the Federal Government to abolish slavery. And Gen. Jackson, to repel invasion, impressed slaves into the service, without compensation to the owners, and without asking their leave. As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, it is yours, in such an emergency as the present, to proclaim martial law, and save the nation. Elevated to your post, by the voice of the people, and by the Providence of God, it is your's to protect them by obeying Him, remembering that His Constitution of Civil Government is paramount to all others, and supreme over all.

In this way, you may easily, cheaply, and speedily restore peace, unity and prosperity to our distracted country.

ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

There will be a sermon before this Society, on Sabbath Evening, May 5th, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, New York, by Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, D. D. President of Wheaton College, Illinois. Addresses at the Anniversary on Monday Evening, May 6th, at the same place, are expected from Rev. Messrs. J. A. Thome, Cleveland, Charles B. Boynton, Cincinnati, and C. H. A. Bulkely, Patterson, N. J.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-seventh Annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's), in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 7, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock.

The Society will meet, for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½ P. M. on Tuesday, and 10 A. M. on Wednesday.

THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, May 8th. Addressed by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

News of the Day.

Commencement of the Southern War.—Fall of Fort Sumter, &c. &c.

On Friday morning of last week, at 4 o'clock, the war was inaugurated, by an attack on Fort Sumter, by the rebel forces in the batteries on Sullivan's Island, Morris Island, and other points. A summons for the surrender of Fort Sumter had previously been sent to Major Anderson, and had been refused by him.

Fort Sumter returned the fire, and the cannonading was kept up, except at brief intervals, for forty hours, when the firing from Fort Sumter ceased, and it was subsequently surrendered.

At several times during the battle, Fort Sumter took fire from the bomb shells, and was with difficulty extinguished. The Federal fleet was in sight all the time, but from some

cause, variously accounted for, rendered no assistance. The walls of Fort Sumter were battered severely, but not as was at first reported, broken through. Three or four men are said to have been killed, and a few others wounded. Few lives, if any, appear to have been lost, on the other side. At the time of our present writing, however, Tuesday morning, full and authentic information has not been received. The telegraphic dispatches have been from the South Carolinians, and are received with some distrust and allowance.

For some time, the fact of the surrendery of Fort Sumter was received with incredulity at Washington, New York, Albany, and elsewhere. Not until late on Monday, did it obtain general belief. Even then, it was considered a mystery and strong suspicions of the complicity of Major Anderson, of the Commander of the fleet, and even of the fidelity of the administration itself, were, in some circles, entertained. Up to this moment, an explanation of the mystery is anxiously waited for.

The N. Y. Evening Post, editorially puts forth, with great confidence, a solution which appears quite plausible, and may, probably prove to have been the fact. Instead of regarding the surrendery of Fort Sumter a defeat of the Federal forces, the Post heads its article:

"The first defeat of the rebels!" The Editor commences thus:

It is evident that Gen. Scott has once more beaten the enemies of his country by mere force of his admirable strategic genius. To do so, he has, as was necessary, suffered not only traitors, but loyal men, to rest under a misapprehension.

After referring to similar stratagems and successes of Gen. Scott in the Mexican war, the Post proceeds to say that the General perceived that "while Sumter and Charleston were points of no military importance, and that its retention would cost men and vessels, which the Government could not spare just now, he saw that the two keys of the position, were Fort Pickens in the Gulf, and Washington, the Capitol. He therefore made a show of defending Fort Sumter, concentrating the rebel forces to that point, but wasting no lives or treasures in its defence, employed his resources in a thorough re-enforcement of Fort Pickens, and an adequate defence of the Capitol, both of which, the Post affirms, is now effected.

In confirmation, the Post quotes the latest dispatches from Montgomery.

Meantime, while the rebels are ignorantly glorifying the victory of five thousand men over eighty, what news comes from Montgomery? The telegraph, in the hands of the rebels, says:

"Fort Pickens was re-enforced last night."

"It is understood that Charleston harbor is blockaded."

Dispatches from Lieut. Slemmer captured by the rebels, gave Davis the first intimation of his defeat! No wonder that the rebel chief was "sick" and went to bed! No wonder that his Secretary, Walker, declined to make a speech.

And what from Washington? These significant paragraphs:

"The report that Anderson has surrendered, and is the guest of General Beauregard, has been communicated to the President. The latter was not surprised, but, on the contrary, remarked, 'The supply vessels could not reach him, and he did right.' When he was told that the report was that nobody was injured in Fort Sumter, he seemed very much gratified, and remarked that he regretted that Major Anderson could not be supplied, as that was all he needed."

"The next act in the play will represent a scene at Fort Pickens, in Pensacola harbor."

The Post resumes its remarks, and thus continues:

The position of affairs is this: Charleston is blockaded. Fort Pickens is re-enforced by troops which the traitors foolishly believed were destined for Sumter. Washington is secure beyond peradventure. The traitors have, without the slightest cause, opened the war they have so long threatened. The country is roused to defend its assailed liberties, and gathers, enthusiastically, about the Government; and treason has been checkmated at the first blow it struck. Let them keep Sumter a few weeks.

The *Tribune* copies this article in full, for which we have not room. In another article the Post says:

Charleston is blockaded. As we write, news comes that Fort Pickens was attacked by the traitors—but Fort Pickens was re-enforced on Saturday.

In the meantime, the Federal Government is all astir. The President issues his Proclamation and calls for 70,000 men, and the call is responded to with promptitude and enthusiasm.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

By the President of the United States:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The laws of the United States have been for some time past and are now opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals by law:

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the Militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000 in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say, that the first service assigned to the force hereby called forth, will probably be to re-possess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union, and in every event, the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do, hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interests may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States, the eighty-fifth.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The Available Militia.—Should the Government require it, a military gentleman states that the following number of men can be forthcoming at short notice, and probably in about the following contingents:

Maine	5,000	Michigan	.....	10,000
New Hampshire	5,000	Illinois	.....	15,000
Vermont	5,000	Wisconsin	.....	5,000
Massachusetts	15,000	Iowa	.....	5,000
Rhode Island	2,500	Minnesota	.....	5,000
Connecticut	5,000	Kansas	.....	2,500
New York	25,000	Indiana	.....	5,000
New Jersey	2,000			
Pennsylvania	30,000			
Ohio	12,500	Total	.....	154,500

The estimate would give to an army of three divisions: 62,500 for the Eastern, 54,500 for the Central, and 37,500 for the Western Divisions. This would do to make a beginning.—*Times*.

The President and the Militia.—The President of the United States, by Sec. 2, Art. II., of the Federal Constitution is "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia, of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States;" and he is also, by Sec. 3 of the same article, empowered to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." But the power to provide for calling the "militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," is reserved by Sec. 8 of Article I, to Congress.

How then, it is asked, can the President of the United States call out the militia, in the present emergency, or accept the offers of aid from the different States, without first calling an extra session of Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union and suppress" the wide spread insurrection which now exists in seven States of the Union? The question is pertinent, and the public mind no doubt will be relieved as to the power of the President by accurate information upon this point, especially as the failure to pass a force bill by the late Congress has left the impression that the Chief Magistrate is without any power whatever in such a crisis, until he first calls upon Congress for authority.

The emergency is provided for by the act of 1795, which gives power to the President to call upon the militia in case of invasion, or imminent danger of invasion; in case of insurrection in any State against the laws thereof, if called upon by the Legislature or executive of the State, and, finally, "whenever the laws of the United States shall be

opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed, in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals in this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such, or of any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and the use of the militia so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress." The act also requires that, when the President deems it necessary thus to resort to military force, he shall command the insurgents by proclamation to disperse within a limited time.

The power bestowed upon the Chief Magistrate, under this act, is ample to enable him to deal with the present crisis in our national affairs. As the Chief Executive Officer of the District of Columbia, he is empowered to call upon the militia of such State or States as he may deem proper, to suppress an insurrection against the Government; and, as President, he may resort to the same military aid to suppress a combination, obstructing and opposing the laws of the United States, which is too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary way. It is by virtue of this authority that he this morning issues his proclamation calling out 75,000

Infatuation of the Confederates.—How completely the secessionists have been duped by the *N. Y. Herald*, the *N. Y. Day Book*, and kindred prints, will be seen from the following, from Geo. N. Sanders to the *N. Y. Tribune*.

"Montgomery, Ala., April 8th, 1861. The Union men of the North must plant themselves sooner or later upon the Davis and Stephens platform—that is to say, upon the Constitution of the Confederate States. Rhode Island has given the first gun for the Grand Republic. The N. Y. Democrats and Union men will soon reject all programmes not embracing the entire continent. The Crittenden and Border-State divisional cotton-excluding compromises are not even entertained here. The Ohio valley will never consent to a separation from the Gulf States, and the people of that section will accept this agricultural and commercially-expansive Constitution as good enough. I am not surprised to see that you are more pleased with Charleston poetry than with Montgomery facts. But remember my prophetic letter to the Republicans last October, and you will give more consideration to my views of passing events. There can be but one Government embracing the old Territories of the Union, and that cannot be that of the United States, as at present organized. Neither can the latter form the basis of adjustment.

"Montgomery, April 9, 1861. The Crittenden and Border State propositions are all humbug. Beside the Jeff. Davis, or Old Jeff. Constitution, there is nothing else before the country. Douglas, Crittenden & Co., will have to cave, and that much sooner than they think. There is not timber enough in their platform to stand a six-weeks' contest. Should Lincoln attempt a blockade, Davis will make war in every way, and in three months will drive Lincoln out of Washington. The Customs receipts at Mobile for the month of March, just officially reported here, amount to \$34,000. Last year under the old Government they were \$10,000. Five times as many goods have been bonded there this March, as in the same month of last year.

G. N. S."

When the poor "Confederates" shall have learned the facts of the case, how will they execrate their deceivers! Contrast their anticipations with the following:

Public Sentiment at the North.—The attack upon Fort Sumter and its capture, together with the President's Proclamation has awakened a feeling, throughout the non-slaveholding States that is thus re-echoed by the *N. Y. Tribune*.

"Fort Sumter is lost, but Freedom is saved. There is no more thought of bribing or coaxing the traitors who have dared to aim their cannon balls at the flag of the Union and those who gave their lives to defend it."

We wish we could see that the "cause of freedom" is saved, or even that the flag of freedom has been raised by the Administration. Possibly that revolution may come next, when the "military necessity" for it comes to be perceived and felt. We are glad to find the public in a condition for being deeply impressed with new ideas, and for undergoing great and sudden changes, which may be for the better, as they could scarcely be for the worse. The first gleam of light we have seen is from a quarter least expected.

The N. Y. Times, only a few days before, had expressed the greatest horror, at the suggestion of some abolitionist, to accept the aid of the slaves, in the present struggle. But, hear what the *Times* says now:

"If Virginia goes, Slavery in Virginia goes with her. She loses the very thing for which she secedes. With Washington retained (and it will be retained, if half a million of men can hold it), it would not be long before two great streams of migration, one North and the other South, would send every negro out of the State. Virginia may as well understand, first as last, the temper of the North, which is as united to day as are the people of Charleston,—that if she makes war by joining those in ac-

tual rebellion, we shall strike at her vulnerable point. We are no longer to be trifled or temporized with. We are ready for the contest. We did not provoke it. We sought every means to avoid it; but we go in for permanent peace, leaving no disturbing element to again, at an hour's notice, convulse and break up the country."

Why should not the same language be held toward all the seceded States, even upon the low ground of the *Times*, to say nothing of the original national duty to liberate all the slaves?

So far as the support of the Administration, in putting down secession is concerned, the North is approximating toward unanimity, with great rapidity. Stephen A. Douglas has called on the President, and has assured him of his earnest support. Ex-President Buchanan has signified the same. "One of the most prominent democrats in Ohio" has done the same. The papers teem with accounts of the general enthusiasm, in all parts of the non-slaveholding States. Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania tells the President that his State is ready to furnish 100,000 men, at 48 hours notice, if necessary, to defend Washington City. Gov. Morgan will issue his proclamation, calling for 25,000 volunteers. Gov. Sprague of Rhode Island tenders the services of the Marine Artillery and 1,000 Infantry, and offers to accompany them himself. The Providence Banks offer to loan the Governor \$80,000 to arm the troops. The Governor of Massachusetts responds to the President's requisition for 2000 troops immediately. Volunteers, to the number of 30,000 have offered themselves in Boston. Gov. Washburn of Maine, in reply to the requisition of the Secretary of War for troops replied: "Maine will respond promptly to your call. The people of this State of all parties will rally with alacrity for the maintenance of the Government and the defence of the flag."

From every part of the North, says the *Tribune*, the telegraph brings the gratifying assurance that the people are rising with one voice, to the support of the Government.

These may serve as specimens.

New York City.—But no-where, perhaps, is the sudden change so marked and visible as in this pre-eminently pro-slavery city of New York, the very centre of treasonable conspiracies in favor of the secessionists, up to the day of the attack on Fort Sumter.

The Herald, with the largest daily circulation of any paper in the city, has been, more than any other paper, North or South, perhaps, the chief fomenter of the sedition. Even after the Sumter surrender, it ventured to call a meeting against "coercion," in the Park. But nobody, on that side, showed their heads, and the small gathering that assembled from curiosity, improved the time in opposite demonstrations. The tide of indignation against the *Herald*, soon became intense, and almost irrepressible, not so much from the Republicans and anti-slavery men, who cared little about it, as from the mass of the *Herald's* own readers, whom it had cheated with its hypocritical cry for "Union" when it only meant pro-slavery disunion and treason. Finding the *Herald* now the open advocate of disunion and rebellion, they were bent on revenge. The city was flooded with violent show bills against the *Herald*. The office was surrounded; the Police, (so constantly abused by the *Herald*,) had to be sent for. Mayor Wood, who had lately counseled the secession of New York City itself, was forced to issue a tame proclamation, counselling moderation and peace. Bennett, of the *Herald*, on leaving his office for the city cars, was escorted by a hooting populace, threatening to drum him out of town. The occupants of the *Herald* office, to propitiate the crowd, had raised the National flag over the building. The very next day [Tuesday] the *Herald* turned a complete somerset, commanding the administration for its course, and declaring that the time is past for holding such "peace meetings." The *Tribune* of Wednesday, publishes, in opposite columns, the diametrically opposite utterances of the *Herald* on Monday and Tuesday. It was feared that the popular indignation against the *Herald*, notwithstanding its sudden backing down, would rise above control, as it might have done, we think, but for the timely pelting of a cold North East storm of wind and rain, which kept the people from clustering and standing in the streets, throughout all Tuesday.

Journal of Commerce.—But the rain storm did not prevent hundreds of merchants, lawyers, bankers and brokers, downtown, from promptly stopping their subscriptions to the *Journal of Commerce*, for its still persistent apologies for treason. If the subscribers to that paper and the *N. Y. Observer*, throughout the North and West, would promptly follow the example, not waiting (as our citizens did not) for their subscriptions, pre-paid, to run out, it would be of more ser-

vice to
Sumter
War
filled with
people to
Gov.
for war
mending
control o
petal!
The res
created
consequence
Union
as many d

A vessel
believe
the
Stripes.

The crea
consequen
Union
and earnest
the State,
resolutions
Union cour

Gen. Wood
night, and
and to prev
the dust by

The Irish
ton, calls th
the Union, V
Sumter, and
The Rebel
the Preside
Secretary of
The Govern
ing for volun
Bank of Nor
Bank of New
each of \$50,00

Dispatches
as the duty of
stitution, to p
tegrity of the
are rapidly go
dularly for th

New Hamp
The Union Ba
\$20,000, and t
pledged themse
families of th
of the flag of th

The Governm
the requisiti
to furnish the
both those Stat

The Legislatu
any connivanc
ten year's imprin
are musterin

A Charlest
date of April 10

"The greatest
be so small as t
by those who ha
markets are ver

Jeff. Davis is s
his necessities w
probably calcula
wards of 100,000

the way.

The course of
in secret sessio
that Western Vi

A prominent
ture is reported
slavery is abolis
bed fellows long

wonder to find I
up to that posit
party, so explici
icans.

Our natural

support of the v

The New Yo
of rebellion nov

"The sentinel
laid down by th
most vigorous a

culty in procuri

We are ready for the Federal Government, than the defence of Forts Sumter and Pickens.

Wednesday April 17. The morning papers continue to be filled with accounts of the general enthusiasm of the Northern people to carry on the war.

Gov. Morgan has signed the Bill appropriating three millions for war purposes. Wonder whether he is still in favor of amending the Federal Constitution, for the purpose of making the control of the Southern oligarchy over the whole country permanent!

The requisition upon Massachusetts for troops has been increased to four regiments instead of two. All companies of infantry and riflemen to consist of 64 privates.

A vessel from Savannah entered Boston harbor with the Rebel flag flying. On her arrival at the wharf, the people compelled the captain to strike his flag, and hoist the Stars and Stripes.

The credit of the State of Virginia is going down rapidly, in consequence of the uncertainty of her position in regard to the Union. Virginia bonds have fallen more than 20 per cent in as many days. They were down to 57½ yesterday.

Delaware is responding to the Union movement with vigor and earnestness. One of the largest meetings ever gathered in the State, was held at Wilmington last evening, and passed resolutions severally denouncing Senator Bayard for his anti-Union course.

Gen. Wool made a strong Union speech at Troy, on Monday night, and pledged his life to the support of the Administration and to prevent the flag of the country from being trampled in the dust, by traitors seeking to extend the area of slavery.

The Irish Pictorial, the organ of the adopted citizens of Boston, calls the Irish to arms in defence of the Government and the Union, and to punish the traitors who have attacked Fort Sumter, and for the overthrow of the Southern oligarchy.

The Rebel Cabinet at Montgomery are reported to have read the President's proclamation with bursts of laughter. Their Secretary of War has called out 32,000 men in addition to those already in the field.

The Governor of Connecticut has issued a proclamation, calling for volunteers to rendezvous at Hartford. The Thames Bank of Norwich offers a loan of \$100,000, and the Elm City Bank of New Haven, and the Fairfield County Bank a loan each of \$50,000 in support of the Government.

Dispatches from Baltimore state that Gov. Hicks regards it as the duty of Maryland to stand by the Union and the Constitution, to protect the National Capitol, and sustain the integrity of the Government of the United States. Enlistments are rapidly going on at Baltimore for the Army and Navy, particularly for the latter.

New Hampshire responds nobly to the call of the President. The Union Bank of Concord has offered the Governor a loan of \$20,000, and the Cashier and Directors of the Bank have each pledged themselves to contribute \$100 to the support of the families of the volunteers of that city who may fall in defense of the flag of the Union.

The Governors of N. Carolina and Kentucky have replied to the requisition of the President for troops, refusing point blank, to furnish them. It is said, however, that volunteers from both those States will join the Federal Army.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania has passed an act making any connivance with the public enemy a felony punishable by ten year's imprisonment, and \$5,000 fine. The Pennsylvanians are mustering in great force for the war.

A Charleston correspondent of the Boston Post writes under date of April 10:

"The greatest fear now is, that the supply of provisions will be so small as to raise the price to a degree hard to be borne by those who have been so long suffering in their business. The markets are very poorly supplied."

Jeff. Davis is still threatening an invasion of the North, and his necessities will probably goad him on to do it speedily. He probably calculates upon entering Virginia with an army of upwards of 100,000 strong, swelling his ranks by volunteers by the way.

The course of Virginia is yet undecided. The Convention is in secret session. Should they vote to secede, it is believed that Western Virginia will secede from the State.

A prominent Democratic member of the New York Legislature is reported to have said, "There can now be no peace, till slavery is abolished. Liberty and slavery have tried being bedfellows long enough!" Quite sensible. We should not wonder to find Democrats ahead of the Republicans, in coming up to that position. On that point, they have not been, as a party, so explicitly, and "irrevocably" pledged as the Republicans.

Our naturalized citizens are said to be as enthusiastic in support of the war, as the native Americans.

The New York Herald, so lately the champion and organ of rebellion now says—(April 17.)

"The sentiment of the North requires that the programme laid down by the administration, should be carried out in the most vigorous and effective manner. There will be no difficulty in procuring troops, and the full quota should be sum-

moned, which is necessary to the complete attainment of the end in view. Half measures must be abandoned, and force enough employed to retake every fort, custom house, arsenal, and vessel, belonging to the United States. New York City is able to supply all the funds that are needed, and its capitalists will meet the demands that are made upon them, just in proportion to the promptitude that is displayed in bringing the crisis to an end, under which the country is suffering. Two hundred millions of dollars will be considered a cheap price to have paid for peace, and a reconstruction of the Union upon a permanent basis."

Ex-President Fillmore, (the very man who repeatedly declared, in 1856, that the South ought not to permit the inauguration of Fremont, if elected—thus suggesting the very rebellion now in progress) now says, at a meeting in Buffalo,

"Civil war is inaugurated, and we must meet it. The government calls for our aid, and we must give it."

North Carolina has seized the U. S. forts within her borders.

Wednesday Evening. The offices of the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, *Daily News*, *Day Book*, and *Express* were successively visited, to-day, by the populace, demanding of them a show of their colors. The National flag was, in each, instance, promptly displayed. It is amusing and instructive to see groups of pro-slavery Democrats, at the street corners, talking loudly in favor of breaking up those presses and lynching the Editors, Southern fashion, and then to see some anti-slavery man, Quaker, Abolitionist, or Republican, come along, and try to reason them out of it. The Tribune very properly protests against such exhibitions, which would be trumpeted by the enemies of free speech, and a free press, North and South.

Mayor Wood has been compelled to call for a Police force, to protect himself and residence. That promised "call, numerously signed," in response to his proposed City secession, to join the South, does not make its appearance!

Preparations are making, for a great meeting, at Union Square, for sustaining the Government.

Thursday Morning 18th. The telegraphic dispatches are still laden with tidings of "patriotic" manifestations in every part of the free states.

At Cincinnati measures have been taken to prevent the steam boats from carrying provisions down the river, to the rebels.

Contradictory rumors reach us, continually, from the South, affirming and contradicting the continued blockade of Charleston, the commencement of an assault upon Fort Pickens, the secession of Virginia, the seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, &c. All, however, except the continued blockade of Charleston, is generally discredited, as premature.

One thing is certain. Strong fears are entertained, both here and at Washington, for the safety of the Capital. Troops from the North, are moving for its defence, but whether they will reach in season, is the question. The dilatory action of the government in this matter, is inexplicable. Thirty thousand men should have been there, a fortnight ago, as we then said, to have quieted the Virginia secessionists, if defence were intended. The Sumter and Charleston expedition is not yet fully explained.

Jeff. Davis, by proclamation, offers to grant "Letters of Marque and Reprisal" (licenses for privateering) against Northern commerce.

The Irish of New York are foremost against secession.

LATEST NEWS.

Friday Morning. *The Virginia Convention*, it is believed, has declared for secession.—But, *the Tribune* says, "the Unionists of Western Virginia are numerous and resolute, and they and the 500,000 slaves will give the rebellious slaveholders enough to do at home."

The Harper's Ferry Arsenal is not yet taken, nor the Norfolk Navy Yard, but Gov. Letcher has commenced obstructing the entrance of Norfolk harbor.

The New York Custom House has ceased granting clearances for ports in the seceded states.

Fort Pickens, it is now ascertained, has been re-enforced. *Major Anderson* arrived in New York, yesterday.

Gov. Harris of Tennessee, in reply to Secretary Cameron says Tennessee will furnish no troops to fight the seceders, but will furnish 50,000 to defend them.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

The *N. Y. Express* informs its readers that the *PRINCIPIA* is "an anti-slavery publication, in the Latin language." No doubt the "first principles of Religion, Morals, Government, and the economy of Life," taught in the *PRINCIPIA*, are as unintelligible as dead languages to the *Express*.

The Bill to abolish capital punishment, has passed the Senate of Massachusetts by a vote of 18 to 16.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has passed a law making it unlawful to charge for exhibitions of spiritual rappings, &c.

The State Rights party at Fayetteville, Arkansas, on the 8th inst., raised a large flag containing fifteen stars, the State arms and red and white stripes, and the mottoes, "No submission to the North," and "Southern rights." The Union men in opposition, raised the national flag. Both parties made speeches.

The mechanics at the Navy Yard in New Orleans are dissatisfied, owing to the non-payment of wages due.

The new U. S. District Attorney, it is said, has declined to investigate a most important case of piracy connected with the Southern Rebels, although papers relating to it were presented to him by one of our most respectable citizens. The facts in this case developed themselves in New York Bay.

A German named Herr Wiesder, who followed Gen. Mirovski into Italy to join Garibaldi's army, was discovered to be a traitor. He had bargained to communicate Garibaldi's secret plans to General Benedek, through a party of Bavarians, for the sum of 40,000 francs. The treachery was discovered in time, and the traitor arrested.

The Rev. A. J. D'Orsay wrote to the *London Post*, that when "as missionary to the English at Barcelona, in January 1860, I found many workmen without Bibles and prayer books. On my return to England, I obtained a grant of £5 worth from the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, and I wrote to the Consul asking how they were to be sent. His reply was 'they must not be sent at all, as they are contraband.'

Family Miscellany.

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE.

[The following pieces were spoken by *Annie Russell* and *Jonny Gleason*, a couple of tiny bits of humanity, at the anniversary of the Williamsburgh Industrial School, March 28th, 1861.]

"WHEN I AM A WOMAN."

When I am a woman I know what I'll do—
I'll be a good woman, and a smart one, too!
I'll know just as much as Teacher, and more;
And then I won't have to stand out, on the floor!

I shall be O, so tall! and shall look so wise!
And I shall know how to make bread, and pies,
And sweep, and dust, and knit, and sew,
And all those things women do, you know!

And then I shall learn a great deal, in books,
About far off Europe, and how it looks;
And about different people, all the world o'er,
That are living now, or have lived before.

And I shall read those big books I've seen—
I'm sure I don't know, now, what they mean!—
All about the stars, and the moon, and the sun,
And what they are made of—O, won't it be fun?

And I shall keep house, in the prettiest place!
I shall—for all your doubting face!
And shall be so happy, with—I know who!
Now I think that will be pleasant—don't you?

"WHEN I AM A MAN."

When I am a man, I know what I'll do!
I'll be just as manly as any of you;
I'll have a great coat and watch, very grand,
And full six feet in my boots I'll stand!

But one thing, I tell you, I never will do!
I never will drink, nor smoke, nor chew;
It wouldn't become my dignity—quite—
Annie says 'tisn't manly—and I think she's right!

And now I'll tell you just what I would do;
I'd go out in the country and work—wouldn't you?
To dig, and plant, and make everything grow;
Because it is manly to work, you know!

And I would be honest, and noble, and good,
So that Annie would love me—I know she would!—
And we would live on our beautiful farm,
And I would protect her from danger and harm.

And I'll work for my Country, and put down secession!
I'll stop, very soon, all Slavery aggression!
And if I do get at the head of the nation
It shall be because I am worthy the station!

L. G.

NATURE'S MYSTERIES UNSOLVED.

You remember that fancy of Aristotle's, of a man who had grown to maturity in some dark distance, and was brought on a sudden into the upper air to see the sun rise? What would his wonder be, says the Philosopher, his rapt astonishment at the sight we daily witness with indifference?

ence!—With the free open sense of a child, yet with the ripe faculty of a man, his whole heart would be kindled by that sight, he would discern it well to be Godlike, his soul would fall down in worship before it. Now, just such a childlike greatness was in the primitive nations. The first Pagan Thinker among rude men, the first man that began to think, was precisely the child-man of Aristotle. Simple, open as a child, yet with the depth and strength of a man. Nature had as yet no name to him; he had not yet united under a name the infinite variety of sights, sounds, shapes and motions, which we now collectively name Universe, Nature, or the like—and so with a name dismiss it from us. To the wild deep-hearted man all was yet new, unveiled under names or formulas; it stood naked, flashing in on him there, beautiful, awful, unspeakable. Nature was to this man, what to the Thinker and Prophet it forever is, *preter-natural*. This green flowery rock-built earth, the trees, the mountains, rivers, many-sounding seas—that great deep sea of azure that swims overhead; the winds sweeping through it; the black cloud fashioning itself together, now pouring out fire, now hail and rain; what is it? Ay, what? At bottom we do not yet know; we can never know at all. It is not by our superior insight that we escape the difficulty; it is by our superior levity, our inattention, our want of insight. It is by *not* thinking that we cease to wonder at it. Hardened round us, encasing wholly every notion we form, is a wrappings of traditions, hearsays, mere words. We call that fire of the black thunder-cloud, 'electricity', and lecture learnedly about it, and grind the like of it out of glass and silk; but *what is it?*—What made it? Whence comes it? Whither goes it? Science has done much for us; but it is a poor science that would hide from us the great deep sacred infinitude of Nescience, whither we can never penetrate, on which all science swims as a mere superficial film. This world, after all our science and sciences, is still a miracle; wonderful, inscrutable, magical and more, to whosoever will *think* of it.—*Carlyle*.

All that "such a Pagan Thinker," or that Carlyle or any man needs to know or can know is, that God created all, and that the Creator, not his workmanship, is to be worshipped.—*Principia*.

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.

The night was bitter cold. As was my wont, I strolled forward among the emigrants. All was silent, for it was too cold to talk. Apart from the others were crouched two, very thinly clad. A glance told me that they were mother and daughter, and also that there was a sadness upon them that did not belong to the sufferings of the ordinary emigrant, and a sudden impulse prompted me to take a heavy shawl from myself and wrap it around them. The act was so sudden and so quick that the tongue had not time to give utterance to the feelings of the heart, before I was back and out of hearing. The steamer in due time arrived at her destination; and as I was taking the last step from the plank to the wharf, I felt my coat pulled.

"Measter, measter, you have forgotten your shawl!"

"No, I have not forgotten it; keep it."

"Kape it?" cried the mother.

"Kape it—kape it for our own?" cried the daughter.

"Yes, keep it for your own, until you find some one that needs it more."

Ah, what a change over the countenance of the two. I can compare it to nothing but the sudden flash that leaves an intenser darkness, as the old woman repeated to herself the words; then looking at her daughter for a moment, she turned to me, and with a voice trembling with emotion, she uttered the words "Lade us not into temptation—take the shawl."

The bell rang, and the whistle gave forth its shriek, but high above the bell and whistle, as I entered the cars, was the voice of the mother and daughter, calling down blessings upon the giver of the shawl.

WHY THE MILL WAS STOPPED.

In one of the older States, once resided an infidel, the owner of a saw mill, situated by the side of the highway, over which a large portion of a christian congregation passed every Sunday, to and from their church. This infidel, having no regard for the Sabbath, was as busy and his mill was as noisy on that holy day, as on any other. Before long it was observed, however, that on a certain time before

service, the mill would stop, remain silent, and appear to be deserted for a few minutes, then the noise and clatter would re-commence and continue till about the close of service, when for a short time, it again ceased. It was soon noticed that one of the deacons of the church passed the mill to the place of worship, during the silent interval, and so punctual was he to the hour, that the infidel knew just when to stop the mill, so that it should be silent while the deacon was passing, although he paid no regard to the passing of others. On being asked why he paid this mark of respect to the deacon, he replied, "The deacon professes just what the rest of you do, but he lives also such a life, that it makes me feel bad here (putting his hand upon his heart) to run my mill when he is passing."

MOSS ON ROOFS.

"There is one thing that nearly all people know if they would only attend to it; that is, to sprinkle slacked lime on the roofs of their buildings, in rainy days. Put it on considerably thick, so as to make the roof look white and you will never be troubled with moss, and if the shingles are covered ever so thick with moss, by putting the lime on twice, it will take all the moss off, and leave the roof white and clean, and will look almost as well as if it had been painted. It ought to be done once a year, and, in my opinion, the shingles will last almost twice as long as they will, to let the roof all grow over to moss. I tried it on the back side of my house, ten years ago, when the shingles were all covered over with moss, and they appeared to be nearly rotten. I gave the roof a heavy coat of lime, and have followed it nearly every year since then, and the roof is better now than it was then; and, to all appearance, if I follow my hand, it will last ten or fifteen years longer. The shingles have been on the roof, thirty years. There is no more risks about sparks catching on the roof than on a newly shingled roof. Those that do not have lime near by, can use good strong wood ashes, and these will answer a very good purpose to the same end."

HEART POWER.

A man's force in the world, other things being equal, is just in the ratio of the force and strength of his heart. A full-hearted man is always a powerful man; if he be erroneous, then he is powerful for error; if the thing is in his heart, he is sure to make it notorious, even though it may be a downright falsehood. Let a man be never so ignorant, still if his heart be full of love to a cause, he becomes a powerful man for that object, because he has heart-power, heart force. A man may be deficient in many of the advantages of education, in many of those niceties which are so much looked upon in society; but once give him a good strong heart, that beats hard, and there is no mistake about his power. Let him have a heart that is full up to the brim with an object, and that man will do the object or else he will die gloriously defeated, and will glory in his defeat. *Heart is Power—Spurgeon*.

By this rule, the North must have as much heart, for impartial liberty, as the South has for slavery, in order to succeed in the present struggle.

ORDER.—Never leave things lying about—a shawl here, a pair of slippers there, and a bonnet somewhere else—trusting to a servant to set things to rights. No matter how many servants you have, it is a miserable habit, and if its source is not in the intellectual and moral character, it will inevitably terminate there. If you have used the dipper, towel, tumbler etc., put them back in their places, and you will know where to find them when you want them again. Or if you set an example of carelessness, do not blame your servants for following it. Children should be taught to put things back in their places as soon as they are old enough to use them: and if each member of the family were to observe this simple rule, the house would never get much out of order, and a large amount of vexation and useless labor would be avoided.

Lord Sandwich was a very awkward walker, and a friend reminded him of this fact. "O," said he, "I'll tell you a story of myself. When I was at Paris, I had a dancing master: the man was very civil, and on taking leave of him, I offered him any service in London. "Then," said he bowing, "I should take it as a favor if your lordship would never tell of whom you learned to dance."—We have doctors, lawyers, and preachers, whose teachers ought to make similar requests of them.

It is a great deal better to say less than half what you think than to think less than half what you say.

[Mr. Justice Page was renowned for his harshness and ferocity upon the bench. While going the circuit, a facetious lawyer, by the name of Coyle, was asked if the judge was not just behind? "I don't know," said Coyle, "but if he is, I am sure he never was just, before."

There was something of a "set back," administered to the young man on an excursion boat who, in making his way thro' the crowd, ventured to remark that "hoops took up a great deal of room." "Not so much as whisky," replied a young Miss, in the assemblage.

The largest tree in Massachusetts is said to be an elm, situated upon the Hubbard farm, in North Andover. It is one hundred and ten feet in height, and its branches spread one hundred feet in width. Its girth, at six feet from the ground, measures twenty-two and a half feet.

They that cry down moral honesty, cry down that which is a great part of religion—our duty towards man. What can I see a man run after a sermon, if he cozen and cheat, as soon as he comes home. On the other side, morality must not be without religion; for if so, it may change, as I see convenient. Religion must govern it.

SWILL MILK.—The Legislature of New York has passed a law making the sale of swill milk a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not less than \$50. The adulteration of the lacteal fluid, with chalk or other substances, is likewise punishable by \$25 fine.—So far, is very good. But the distilleries send out something worse than swill milk, the sale of which is licensed instead of being punished.

God has strange ways of doing the most beautiful things. Out of the oozy earth, the mud and rain of early spring, come the most delicate flowers, their white leaves born out of the fruit, as unsold and pure as if they had bloomed in the garden of Paradise. And out of the filthy lanes and alleys of polluted cities, by the light of his truth, and the breath of his love, in the Industrial School and Sabbath School, he brings up Christian youths, heroic men, and angelic women, to do his work on earth, and shine as gems in the kingdom of heaven.

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GOODELL

For sale at the office of the *Principia*: FOR CASH ONLY.
DEMOCRACY OF CHRISTIANITY, 2 Vols., \$1.50..... Postage 32cts.
SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY (History of) 1 Vol., \$1.00 Postage 32cts.
AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, 1 Vol., \$0.50..... Postage 16cts.

OUR NATIONAL CHARTERS.

FOR THE MILLIONS, INCLUDING

- I. The Federal Constitution of 1787-9.
- II. The Articles of Confederation, 1778.
- III. The Declaration of Independence, 1776.
- IV. The Articles of Association, 1774.

With notes showing their bearing on slavery, and the relative powers of the State and National Governments. Also a summary of *Legal Rules of Interpretation and Legal Opinions*, collected from the highest authorities, is prefixed to the Constitution. AN APPENDIX contains extracts from State Constitutions, and Bills of Rights—Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory; also, sentiments of the Revolutionary fathers, &c.

PRICES OF "Our National Charters."

By mail, postage prepaid, by the Publisher.

Single copy	15 cents.	Delivered at the Office; or sent by private conveyance, or express, as ordered, at the expense of the purchaser.
For 4 copies	50 "	
9 "	1.00	
12 "	1.30	
20 "	2.00	
31 "	3.00	

Single copy	12 cents.
For 4 copies	38 "
9 "	75 "
13 "	1.00
20 "	1.50
28 "	2.00
46 "	3.00
100 "	6.00

In packages of more than 20 or 30 copies it is generally cheaper to send by Express, (where it can be done) than by Mail. But this may depend on the distance and directness of the route, and may be ascertained by experiment, or by inquiry at the nearest Express depot.

For sale by WILLIAM GOODELL, or M. B. WILLIAMS, Office of the *Principia*, 339 Pearl Street, New York. TERMS, CASH, always in advance.

N.B. All postages on Books, Pamphlets, and Tracts, must be paid at our Post-Office in advance, so that we cannot answer orders as above, without having received the postage money, as well as the price of the publications.

Also, for sale as above.

Spooner's Unconstitutionality of Slavery.
In paper covers, price 75 cents, postage 13 cts.; In cloth, \$1.00, postage 19cts.

We have no books, pamphlets, or tracts for sale, except those advertised, above, and it is not convenient for us to receive orders for any others.

D. D. NICHOLSON, PRINTER, 101 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

VOL. II
Published
Harper's Building

TERMS : C
Direct busi
as above...

Our object, by
Christian reform
rided crimes
ries, business ar
the Church, the
God, restoring t
type of heaven.
us expediency,
ssors Editors

Containing the t
"To the law a
word, it is because
given by inspirati
instruction in ri
oughly furnish
Part III.—Sla
Bible.

COMPARA
OPPRESSIVE
A consider
ians, in our
the guilt of
excuses they
and in the l
tems, indicat
than theirs.

Other con
our type of
diffusion of
nineteenth ce
fifteen centu
giving of th
canon of the
We have th
with those o
even the De
light of the
which, to the
miracles as
history of th
of the threat
to receive th
warned, for
nesses, when
ly brief spr
selves, the s
like the He
monarch. *

rights of al
the Supreme
intent of th
had heard
engagemen
neither the
ing of the e
See Gen